1: Tew . E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7



Kangomba, used to persuade Nyanja to help in the sacrificial rite. When Kapeni in turn fled to Mount Soche from the Ngoni, and died there, the Yao addressed their offerings to him, not to Kangomba.[1] The word *Mulungu* has sometimes been interpreted to mean Supreme Being, God, Creator, but among the Yao it seems not to have a personal connotation. It was used to describe the agent in any mysterious event,[2] or the place where the ancestor spirits (*masoka*) were supposed to dwell. Daily life was full of acts of respect towards the ancestors, who were regarded as jealous of the living, and requiring constant propitiation.[3]

### Sorcery

Accusations of witchcraft and measures for dealing with it play a dominant role in Yao social life. With certain exceptions nearly all diseases and deaths are thought to be caused by sorcery. The exceptional causes are: the hand of God, old age, the transgression of certain taboos, and battle wounds. If sorcery is suspected the relatives of the sick or dead man consult the diviner to identify the offender.

Yao (in common with the Maravi and many peoples of Central Africa) believe that sorcerers have a craving for human flesh, which they satisfy by killing with magic the victims of their malice and hatred. They acquire their magical powers by an apprenticeship, which might include incestuous relations with mother, sister, or mother-in-law, or sleeping on the grave of the mother for one night. The sorcerer then learns the medicines and finally demonstrates his power by killing a young relative by magic; he waits till the victim is buried, and then magically exhumes him for the secret feast with his fellow sorcerers. Each sorcerer who shares the flesh owes a debt to the one who secured the victim.

Charms are used as preventive measures against sorcery. When a diviner has diagnosed the cause of death as sorcery, retaliatory measures are taken. The headmen of the village could either call in the witchfinder to identify the offender or he could call in the diviner to take action against all the sorcerers in the village. After the diviner, *Mabisalila*, had revealed the guilty ones, they were challenged to take the poison ordeal to prove their innocence. If they died, the proof and the punishment were simultaneously accomplished. If they survived, the diviner was held to have been at fault and they were acquitted. The witch doctor was supposed to entice sorcerers to the graveside, and slay them with magic more powerful than their own.

The diviner's findings are to-day checked by the poison ordeal administered to a chicken. A sorcerer detected in this way might be asked to provide medicine for the man whose sickness he had caused, or after a death he might be compelled to pay compensation. If the accused is a village headman, he will not be summoned before a chief, but his brother will take the villagers away from the sphere of his influence, or he may be chased away from the district. Accusations of sorcery follow certain regular lines. Nearly all accusations fall on relatives. Diviners are consulted by matrilineal relatives of the sick or dead person, and the man most usually accused is the brother of the accuser, or the husband of his sister. Witchcraft is therefore a manner of expressing the hostilities latent in these relations, which are, in the Yao social system, full of tension.

[1] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, p. 70.
[2] Hetherwick, 3, 1902a.
[3] Heckel, 1935, pp. 14–15; Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 58–75, 204–13.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7



neglect neither his sorority-group nor the husbands in his village,[1] that his sorority-group and his village were his garden and he must take care of the young plants in it. The husbands were the watchmen who look after the women in the village. A headman dare not take sides or be unfair, nor must he talk behind people's backs. He must take care to settle differences amicably by discussion at meetings. They advised him not to pay too much attention to his wives who may have quarrelled with his sisters and tell him that they have been insulting him. When he hears a report like that he may be unfair to his sisters and people will say that he has broken his village through listening to nonsense. This sort of instruction went on through the night.

On Friday when the beer was brewed, Mlamba and Mbalwe, both headmen and perpetual sons of Nyambi, came to the village and told the men to build a small grass shed for the successor to sit in. This the men did, and the women were told to plaster it and clean the huts out for the strangers who would be coming to the ceremony. On Saturday morning before cockcrow, Makoka and Ncimba got up and told the women to cook a big pot of porridge because they were taking Cimombo to bathe and when they returned they would want to find porridge ready. Makoka took some medicine called *mkulumo* in a bark container (*likungwa*) into the toilet enclosure. He put the medicine into two jars of water and told Cimombo to wash himself in it daily as he was an important headman, and it would strengthen his body.[2] After Cimombo had washed he went back into the hut where a mat was spread on the floor and on it were a dish of porridge and three dishes of relish. Makoka and Ncimbo told him to take a little porridge, dip it into one of the relishes—whichever he chose—and eat it. Cimombo did so. They did not tell him that one of the dishes contained human flesh.[3] When he tried the dish of human flesh he vomited and all the villagers cried with joy, saying that he was a good chief because he had

[1] *Mbumba jao ni akamwini wao*—the meaning and significance of this in the village context is explained on p. 183.

[2] This is a euphemism for protective medicine against sorcery.

[3] The immediate question is: Where did the human flesh come from? No informant could tell me and I am inclined to believe that one of the dishes is 'ritually' made into human flesh for this ceremony. This special ceremony was always spoken about as if it were secret, especially from White people.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7



vomited human flesh.[1] They said that they had a strong headman and that they could trust him; he was a good headman without witchcraft. If he had been a sorcerer they would have kept scolding him until the next morning.

About two hours after sunrise the people gathered and started dancing. At about this time Cimombo was brought out of the hut and put in the grass shed which had been built for the occasion. This was the climax of the ceremony.[2] He sat on a chair in the grass shed with one of his two wives on either side. Makoka then started a chant, exhorting the visitors to come to throw pennies at Cimombo's feet. Some of the people there made speeches about the type of behaviour they would expect from him. Then Nyambi arrived from the court village in a ricksha. When the noise had subsided he told the people that if they disobeyed Cimombo it meant that they disobeyed the chief. He emphasized the importance of the rank of the new headman. After the speech he presented 12*s.* to Cimombo which was received on his behalf by Ncimbo. Nyambi then left and the ceremony was over, but the people remained to dance and drink beer.

This description of the procedure following the 'coming out of the hut' is somewhat sketchy. The interaction of the headman and his villagers on this formal and ceremonial occasion is of great interest and importance. During the entire ceremony the headman adopts the pose which is appropriate for any Yao initiand. His hands are on his lap or on the arms of the chair and his head is bowed forward with eyes downcast. He neither speaks nor moves. His attendants, when necessary, wipe the sweat off his face or chase away the flies. The other occupants of the mat, who may be his wives, and sometimes his heir, adopt similar postures. In contrast to this, is the behaviour of the villagers who run about shouting wildly, the men discharging muzzle-loading guns, and women ululating in the typical Central African way.

Before the new headman comes out of the hut his mentors

[1] This is a test based on the witchlore of the Yao, who believe that sorcerers kill relatives with magic and then share out the flesh of their victims with fellow sorcerers in ghoulish feasts.

[2] Called the 'coming out from the hut' (*kubupeka nyumba*). It is of course the first public appearance of the headman in his newly assumed status.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7



River at Mpimbi where they intended to settle. Here, an old chief, knowing that their presence would cause trouble, persuaded them by tales of many cattle far away on the other side of the river, to cross over, and there they remained.

Kawinga and Malemya, then, to avoid further raids from the north went down to the Upper Shiré River near Lake Pamalombe, Kawinga going to Mvera, while Malemya stayed on the east side of the river among the Anyanja, claiming friendship with them because they bore many of the same clan names. Later, Malemya moved up to the highlands about fifteen miles north of what is now Zomba, and Kawinga went to Chikala. Malemya was friendly with the Anyanja chief, Chanyasi, who was of his clan, and was therefore able to buy from him for a red blanket all the country from the Likwenu stream to the Namadzi River, a district thirty to forty miles long. There Mlo people settled.

Kawinga was once again attacked by the Maravangwala from the north, but beat them back, after which they returned to the country whence they came — German East Africa near Lake Nyasa. The Angoni chief was killed in this battle, and the story goes that two Yao captives were told off to carry the evisserated body back to the Angoni country for burial. As they were not provided with food for the journey, the two men began to eat the corpse. After several days, this was discovered; one of the men was killed but the other escaped to tell the tale. These were barbarous days, and the Yao relate that after raiding a village, the Angoni would leave a pot cooking on the fire with the body of a child in it, well covered with beans, so that when they had gone away with their booty and the villagers who had taken refuge in the forest returned hungry, they would start eating the beans and then come upon the body of the child, and having eaten of the juices of a human body, they would have committed a terrible sin.

The immigration of the Amarhinga into the country around Mangoche mountain caused the Amangoche Yao settled there to move. They passed into the Blantyre and Mlanje districts, and invaded the country of the Anyanja. The chief, Malemya, known as Nalutumbo died about 1880, and was succeeded by his nephew, a sister's son, according to the Yao custom. This nephew, Wandalama, then took the name of Malemya.

In consequence of this succession, there was considerable bad feeling between Wandalama and the other aspirant to the chieftainry, his cousin, Kumtaja. The latter moved down to the plain below Zomba mountain to the south, where he gathered about him a band of friends and malcontents. Malemya decided to attack him and with this purpose, sent two messengers, Nkapiti and Mapumbela, asking Chikusi and his Angoni to come and do the job for him. Led by Nyamuka, Njerumafi, and Kabayi, the Angoni came from the Shiré River opposite Blantyre, via Matope. They attacked and routed Kumtaja who, owing to the thick country, managed to fall back with most of his people toward Lake Chilwa. Here he was received by his cousin, Chimombo, a son of Nalutumbo, and father of my interpreter, Chowaga, who ruled among the Anyasa. Afterwards, he moved to Mpimbi on the Shiré where he built a stockaded village.

† Died July 16, 1916.

754 Resident Magistrate at Blantyre, told me of a case where the grave of a well-known European hunter was opened and his trigger finger removed, the reason being obvious. The same thing is said to have occurred in regard to the heart of a brave man. In the former case the finger was probably worn as a charm; in the latter, the heart partly eaten and partly made into medicine. I have found human fingers and skulls among the outfits of witch-doctors. Such practices seem akin to those of cannibalistic societies found in other parts of Africa.

754 266 [575] 266 The natives insist that wasawi are banded together in some sort of society. There are numerous discrepancies in the evidence brought forward about wasawi, but such would necessarily arise and they do not, therefore, disprove the general belief in the actuality of wasawi. Be that as it may, it seems probable that though there may be little or no cannibalism at the present day, the beliefs about wasawi have arisen in consequence of common cannibalistic practises in the past. There are individual cases of cannibalism well known and one has only to call to mind that of Kantukule of Malemya's village. This man more or less openly killed and ate a number of people. On one occasion after a fight, he was seen looking over the dead bodies of the slain foes and in answer to an enquiry, he denied that he wanted any spoils but said he was just marking the bodies, "that would be his share." Later on, his own son, who tells the story, brought an Angoni man into the village who wished to settle under Malemya. It was evening, so he was introduced into his father's (Kantukule's) house where Kantukule gave him food and later a mat on which to sleep, the son meanwhile having gone to a beer drinking. In the morning, he returned to take his Angoni friend to the chief, but his father said he had gone away. Entering the hut, however, the son came upon the Angoni's snuff-box, and said to his father, "No Angoni would go away and leave his snuff-box." But the father said, "Well, he has gone." The lad being suspicious again went into the hut and found the place where the Angoni had been sleeping drenched with blood. Going out again, he noticed blood dripping through the bottom of Kantukule's grain-store and looking inside, he found the body.

This man Kantukule was a great friend of the reigning Malemya's headwife, Kang'-andu; after the death of Malemya and after his wives had passed to the present Malemya, circumstances arose in the village which cast suspicion on Kantukule and the woman. One of two brothers was ill and, it appeared afterwards, that the woman had said to Kantukule, "Won't you finish him off" It is supposed that Kantukule thought she meant the brother who was not sick; for it so happened that both died the same night. It was supposed they were killed in order that Kantukule and the woman, his friend, might eat them. Malemya had the woman turned out of the village. She now lives near Zomba and has once come under my care. The man, who was also turned out, took up his abode near a highway where he is reported to have killed several Angoni porters whom he said he preferred, because "being travellers far away from their homes, no one would bother about them."

3: Shamma D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7



The father of one of my servants helped to clear out the remains of a body from his grain store on one occasion and shortly afterwards, it is supposed that his own sons who had said they could not allow it to go on any longer, employed some one to kill him, as he was found, one day, with his head smashed in. There are, I believe, a number of similar cases known.

A person is supposed to gain the powers of *nanusi* by procuring medicine from some one willing to sell his secrets at a price, and by performing certain rites usually connected with his method of bathing. It is said that "such and such a one takes his bath on the top of an ant hill" or "on the roof of his house by moonlight." The usual initiation into *nanusi* is a long business, the individual being successively initiated into all the various practices of *ukoma*, the supernatural. Medicines are made from a still-born child, from various plants, from the kyama, etc., and used for preparing the individual in the new science. He is introduced to the kyama, the fox, etc. It is also asserted that a man may acquire supernatural powers by having sexual intercourse with a near relative, a sister or mother. I have had pointed out to me an old man who is said to have wished thus to acquire power but the women refused and he has been a laughing-stock ever since.

On one occasion, a man related to me the pathetic life story of his attempt to find his favorite sister who, like himself, had been taken away to the coast as a slave. In desperation he has adopted the above procedure to try to gain supernatural powers to help him but without result. It would therefore seem to be a method not particularly associated with *nanusi*.

The *nanusi* is supposed to bring about the death of his victim not by administering poison or other such direct means, but by the more subtle mode of making medicine "against" him. When the victim has succumbed and is in due course buried, the *nanusi* arrives at the grave to secure that for which he has been working. To the *nanusi* is attributed the power of making himself invisible, and of taking the form of an animal; owing to the carrion-eating habits of the kyama, this animal form is most commonly taken. Other animal forms which are associated with the *nanusi* are the leopard, the fox, and the owl, all night-going animals. The Yao say, "The cry of the fox (*jankal*) is heard at night because he associates with *nanusi* doings."

Arrived at the grave after sunset, the *nanusi* blows his horn, the horn of a small antelope, to call his brethren; a fire with a blue flame is made by the grave and around it they dance, or the grave may be illuminated by blue flame without a visible fire. The *nanusi* calls upon the deceased to rise from the grave, addressing him by the name he bore before he was initiated, i.e. his child-name. Obeying the summons, the dead man rises to the surface of the ground, though how he comes out is not quite clear — "the hole may be ever so small." The risen dead is then killed again by magic medicine and his body divided to be eaten by the congregation of *nanusi*. It is said that the skull is made into a gourd, the eyes are used as beads, and the ribs formed into a girdle.